

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00

USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAM-01 ACDA-05

TRSE-00 XMB-02 OMB-01 CU-02 EB-07 STR-04 BIB-01 OIC-02

CEA-01 /088 W

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O R 071332Z JUL 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4361

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 5242

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: FOLLOW-UP: COMPROMISE CLEARLY IN SIGHT

FOR EUR/RPM

REF: A. GENEVA 5202, B. STATE 158515

1. IN THE COURSE OF VIRTUALLY CONTINUOUS FORMAL AND
INFORMAL NEGOTIATIONS ON JULY 4 AND 5, FOCUSING IN
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TURN ON THE INTERESTS OF THE FRENCH, THE RUSSIANS AND

THE NEUTRALS, INCLUDING THE ROMANIANS AND THE YUGOSLAVS, A TENTATIVE AND STILL VERY DELICATE AGREEMENT WAS REACHED THAT THE FOLLOWING TEXT OF THE KEY SECOND OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH OF THE FOLLOW-UP TEXT MIGHT SERVE AS A GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE NEGOTIATING BASIS FOR ALL CONCERNED. ALTHOUGH TEXT STILL BEARS SIGNS OF THE HASTE AND PRESSURE UNDER WHICH THIS COMPROMISE WAS WORKED OUT A STRINCLY AD REFERENDUM BASIS, AND THEREFORE STILL REQUIRES REFINING, THE FACT THAT IT COULD BE WORKED AT ALL WAS GENERALLY VIEWED AS A MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH.

2. BEGIN TEXT

"2. DECLARE THEIR INTENTION/EXPRSESS THEIR RESOLVE TO CONTINUE THE MULTILATERAL PROCESS INITIATED BY THE CONFERENCE:

2(A) BY PROCEEDING TO A THOROUGH/FRUITFUL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS BOTH ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT AND OF THE TASKS DEFINED BY THE CONFERENCE, AS WELL AS, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE QUESTIONS DEALT WITH BY THE LATTER, ON THE DEEPENING OF THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS THE IMPROVEMENT OF SECURITY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROCESS OF DETENTE IN THE FUTURE;

2(B) BY ORGANIZING TO THESE ENDS MEETINGS AMONG THEIR REPRESENTATIVES, BEGINNING WITH/IN THE FIRST INSTANCE AT A MEETING AT THE LEVEL OF REPRESENTATIVES APPOINTED BY THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. THIS MEETING WILL SUBMIT APPROPRIATE PROPOSALS FOR THE HOLDING OF OTHER MEETINGS, INCLUDING FURTHER SIMILAR MEETINGS AND THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEW CONFERENCE".

END TEXT

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3. DEPARTMENT WILL NOTE THAT SUBPARA 2(A) REPRESENTS COMPROMISE WHICH UK, FRANCE, DANES AND US REP WORKED OUT WITH USSR (DUBININ) AND CZECHS IN WHICH WE SUCCEEDED IN OBTAINING IN THE FIRST PLACE A SUFFICIENTLY STRONG IMPLEMENTATION PHRASE TO SATISFY WEST AND NEUTRALS, AND MANAGED TO CONFINE THE "POLITICAL" POINTS THE USSR WANTS IN THIS MANDATE WITHIN "THE CONTEXT OF QUESTIONS DEZLT WITH BY THE CONFERENCE". THERE WAS ALSO AN ARGUMENT

OVER THE ORDERING OF THE PHRASES IN LAST PART OF SENTENCE, SINCE USSR WANTED THE REFERENCE TO DETENTE TO PRECEDE THE REFERENCE TO "IMPROVEMENT OF SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION IN EUROPE". WEST RESISTED THE PROPOSAL ON THE GROUNDS THAT IMPROVED SECURITY AND COOPERATION WOULD CONTINUE TO BE A PRECONDITION OF DETENTE. WEST WILL ALSO CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT PHRASE SUCH AS "THOROUGH" IN FIRST PART OF THIS SUBPARAGRAPH IS ESSENTIAL, AND WILL NOT ACCEPT USSR PHRASE "FRUITFUL", WHICH IS OBVIOUSLY INTENDED TO WEAKEN THIS CLAUSE.

4. SUBPARAGRAPH 2(B) INVOLVED EQUALLY DIFFICULT COMPROMISE BETWEEN EC-NONE AND OURSELVES ON ONE HAND, AND NEUTRALS, PARTICULARLY ROMANIANS AND YUGOSLAVS ON THE OTHER. IN ESSENCE UK, FRENCH, DANES AND OURSELVES PERSUADED THIS GROUP THAT CONCESSIONS ALREADY MADE REPRESENTED GREAT STEP FORWARD; THAT ISSUE WAS NOW NO LONGER ONE OF FRENCH RESISTANCE, AS IT HAD BEEN EARLIER, BUT THAT WESTERN ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE HAD NOW REACHED THE LIMITS OF ITS FLEXIBILITY ON THIS POINT; AND THAT THE FURTHER SLIGHT CONCESSIONS REFLECTED IN THE ABOVE TEXT WERE NOW AS FAR AS WE COULD GO. ROMANIANS, YUGOSLAVS, SWISS AND SCANDINAVIANS ULTIMATELY ACCEPTED THIS IN FAIRLY GOOD GRACE, AND, IN END, AGREED TO SEND TEXT TO THEIR GOVERNMENTS.

5. ISSUE OF IMPLEMENTING VERBS NEEDED TO MEET US LEGAL REQUIREMENTS IS STILL OPEN. NATO CAUCUS OFFERED USSR THE OPTION OF ACCEPTING "EXPRESS THEIR RESOLVE" PARTICULARLY IN PARA 1, BUT ALSO PARA 2 THIS TEXT IN ALL EXCEPT RUSSIAN LANGUAGE VERSION, IN WHICH WE SAID WE WOULD ACCEPT "WILL". (US DELEGATION LEGAL ADVISOR CONCURRED THIS APPROACH.) USSR DEL CURRENTLY STUDYING THIS
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IDEA, BUT IS CONTINUING TO TRY TO EXPLOIT THIS US PROBLEM IN ORDER TO FURTHER WATER DOWN COMMITMENT LANGUAGE. NATO CAUCUS, INCLUDING US, HAVE STATED GENERAL VIEW THAT SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF SUFFICIENTLY STRONG COMMITMENT LANGUAGE WOULD REMAIN ESSENTIAL PRECONDITION TO FINAL ACCEPTANCE OF COMPROMISE REACHED PARA 2A ABOVE.

6 SUBJECT NEW DISAGREEMENTS, AS RESULT OF REVIEW OF THIS TEXT IN CAPITALS, THERE NOW SEEM TO BE GOOD REASON TO HOPE THAT THE BACK OF THE FOLLOW-UP PROBLEM HAS BEEN BROKEN, AND THAT WE CAN NOW MOVE QUICKLY TO TIDYING UP THE TEXT.

7. REQUESTED ACTION: UNLESS IMMEDIATELY INSTRUCTED

OTHERWISE, WE WILL PROCEED ON ASSUMPTION THAT ABOVE
TEXT IS GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE TO US IN LIGHT INSTRUCTIONS
PROVIDED REF B, AND WILL SUPPORT QUICK RESOLUTION OF RE-
MAINING FOLLOW-UP NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS BASIS. DALE

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